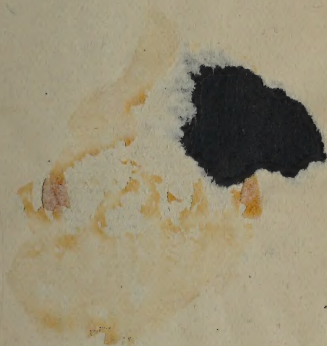




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CHRISTIANITY AND SLAVERY.

STRICTURES

ON

REV. WILLIAM HAGUE'S REVIEW

OF

DOCTORS FULLER AND WAYLAND

ON

DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

BY

THOMAS MEREDITH,

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA.

BOSTON:

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INTRODUCTION.

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THE following pages were written as a Review of the late production of Mr. Hague, and published in the columns of the Biblical Recorder. But as those for whose use they were chiefly designed rarely or never see that paper, they are now republished in the present form, with the hope that they may obtain a more general and appropriate circulation.

It has been no part of the writer's object to perpetuate the institution of Slavery. Although he has doubts whether a state of servitude, such as that which now exists at the South, may not, under some circumstances, be most conducive to the well-being of the poor laboring classes, still he is not, and never has been, an advocate of slavery on general principles. He believes that every system of the kind is liable to abuses; that it may, and not unfrequently does, involve evils to both parties; and that it is always more or less detrimental to those portions of society which it is commonly thought most to benefit. For these reasons he would prefer to see it removed, wherever and whenever it can be done, without the production of still greater evils; just as he would prefer to see the removal of want, of disease, of poverty, or of any of the manifold ills by which human society is liable to be invaded.

It has been the chief object of the writer to repel those accusations of a defamatory nature which have been so liberally brought against Southern Christians, not only in the pamphlet in hand, but in most, or perhaps all, other anti-slavery productions of the Northern press. He believes that slaveholding is, *per se*, wholly inoffensive; that the relation of master and slave is as accordant with the general precepts of the gospel, as that of parent and child, or of husband and wife; and that, therefore, all charges of a criminal nature founded on this relation, and alleged against Southern Christians, are unreasonable and unjust; and, in the same degree, calumnious in their character, and mischievous in their tendencies and results. For these reasons, it has long appeared to the writer to be a matter of some importance that these charges should be repelled; that Southern character should be vindicated; that the doctrine of the Bible touching slavery should be clearly understood; and that the misapprehensions and dissensions which have been engendered among brethren should be, as far as possible, rebuked and dispelled.

With such views and purposes, the writer has been induced to send to the press the following strictures on Mr. Hague's pamphlet; and all he asks of his readers is a candid and unprejudiced perusal. It will be observed, of course, that he has confined his arguments—and his remarks, except a few at the close, strictly to the production under review. Much that may be said in vindication of the slaveholder, and illustrative of biblical teaching on the subject, has been omitted, for the simple reason, that it did not belong to a review of the treatise under consideration.

It will be observed, also, that a great part of the pamphlet has been passed over without notice. This has been done, because the parts passed over were thought to be

unimportant and nugatory in themselves, or were found to have no proper bearing on the question at issue between the parties. Every thing that was regarded as an argument against slaveholding, or against the positions usually taken by Southern writers, has been considered with as much care and particularity as were thought requisite.

It will be observed further, that the point at issue between the writer and Mr. Hague, as was the point between Dr. Wayland and Dr. Fuller, is not the right or the wrong of the "American system," nor of any other system of slavery, — including the good and the bad, the principle and its abuses, — but simply the guilt or innocence of the *relation of master and slave*; implying the fact of ownership on the one hand, and the claim to protection and support on the other. For the abuses of Slavery, whether sustained by legislative enactments, or occurring in individual and insulated practice, Southern Christians are no more responsible than are Northern Christians for the numberless social and political evils which exist among them. For slavery, *as it exists in our churches*, we hold ourselves accountable as Christians; and, as this implies nothing more than the fact of "man's ownership of man," and the relative and reciprocal duties thence arising, this is the precise principle for which the writer claims to be an advocate; and, of course, the only point really at issue between him and the pamphlet under revision.

As it regards Mr. Hague personally, we have only to say, that we have long known him, and that we highly respect him as a man, a Christian, and a useful and popular writer; and that we much regret that the charges which he has thought proper to bring against his brethren of the South have forced us into a train of remark, in some cases, perhaps, bearing an aspect of undue asperity.

Respecting the "Boston Conference of Ministers," we

would also state, that, so far as they are known to us, personally or otherwise, we entertain for them much respect, as scholars and as Christian ministers: but the late position which they have chosen to assume against their brethren of the South has considerably abated our confidence in their discretion and their Christian courtesy; and that their recent endorsement of Mr. Hague's pamphlet has not tended to raise them, in either respect, in our estimation. Our remarks relating to them, therefore, though perhaps in some instances apparently somewhat caustic, we trust will not be understood to imply either disrespect or personal unkindness.

RALEIGH, *September 1st, 1847.*

CHRISTIANITY AND SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

CHRISTIANITY AND SLAVERY: A Review of the Correspondence between Richard Fuller, D.D., of Beaufort, South Carolina, and Francis Wayland, D.D., of Providence, Rhode Island. On Domestic Slavery, considered as a Scriptural Institution. By William Hague. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1847.

As this work lays claim to new light on the subject in controversy; professes to have been written and published at the instance and under the sanction of the "Boston Conference of Ministers;" and is presented to the world as a correction of Wayland and a refutation of Fuller, it has occurred to us that it might not be unworthy of some attention. We wish to have it understood, however, that we design our remarks not for the benefit of our Southern readers. They have already seen enough on the subject. What we write is intended, in part, for those at the North who may chance to look into our columns; and in part, and mainly, for the purpose of placing the argument on record for the convenience of future reference.

As is common with writers of the anti-slavery school, Mr. Hague sets out by *taking for granted the thing to be proved!* Accordingly, his first six pages are occupied in denouncing slaveholding as a *heinous sin*; in stigmatizing those who vindicate the slaveholder, as corrupters and per-

verters of the principles of Christianity; in holding up Dr. Fuller to view, as having unwittingly done more disservice to the cause of religion than pirates and man-stealers; and in representing the attempt to defend the slaveholder on Christian principles, not only as a matter of astonishment, but as involving a gross and palpable absurdity. This is the way in which this writer proceeds to prepare himself and his readers for a *candid* and *honest* examination of the subject under consideration, and especially of the question, Whether the New Testament does or does not sanction the relation of master and slave.

After the aforesaid remarkable introduction, the writer quotes the words of Dr. Fuller, as follow:—

“Slavery was everywhere a part of the social organization of the earth; and slaves and their masters were members together of the churches; and minute instructions are given to each as to their duties, without even an insinuation that it was the duty of masters to emancipate. Now, I ask, could this possibly be so, if slavery were a heinous sin?”

This argument, though by no means original with Dr. Fuller, and though not stated with as much perspicuity and precision, perhaps, as the case admitted, is nevertheless urged with sufficient clearness and point to be fully and clearly understood. And as it is the argument, not of Dr. Fuller only, but of the whole South, who plead for the innocence of the slaveholder, it was incumbent on the reviewer to state it with the most logical and scrupulous precision.

We shall first state this argument of Dr. Fuller, and then Mr. Hague's version of it.

Dr. Fuller says, there were slaves and slaveholders in the apostolic churches. The apostles gave minute instructions to both slaves and masters, as to their respective and relative duties, but gave no intimation to the latter that it was their duty to emancipate, or that the relation was sinful. From these facts and circumstances it follows, either that the apostles were faithless to their duty, or that the relation was not by them regarded as sinful.

This argument may, perhaps, be more logically expressed thus :— The apostles were bound, as honest men, not to say as infallible teachers, to denounce every relation known to exist in the churches, which by them was considered heinously sinful. But they did not denounce the relation of slaveholding. Therefore, either slaveholding was not known to exist in the churches, or by the apostles it was not considered heinously sinful. But slaveholding *was* known to exist in the churches. Therefore the relation was not considered by the apostles as heinously sinful.

Now it is clear that this argument depends on three propositions :

1. That the apostles were bound to denounce all sinful relations known to exist in the churches under their care.

2. That the relation of master and slave was known to exist in said churches.

3. That the apostles did not denounce said relation.

If these propositions be admitted, the conclusion is inevitable. It is clear, therefore, that the

only possible way to refute the argument, or to escape the conclusion, is to overthrow one or more of the propositions.

When Dr. Wayland came to grapple with this argument, he frankly admitted the *second* and *third* propositions, and denied the first. He admitted that there were slaves and slaveholders in the primitive churches, and that the relation was never denounced by the apostles. But he maintained that, as candid and honest men, they were *not bound* so to denounce all sinful relations and practices; that, if they inculcated general principles which had a tendency, *indirectly* and *eventually*, to eradicate such relations, it was all that they were required to do.

We may be permitted to observe, in passing, that this idea of Dr. Wayland's is indignantly scouted by Mr. Hague, who insists on the integrity of the *first* proposition, and, therefore, effectually neutralizes the argument of Dr. Wayland. Thus it appears that, by putting these two writers together, they mutually admit all the aforesaid propositions, and thereby put the conclusion beyond the reach of controversy.

The reader is no doubt curious, by this time, to know how this formidable argument, thus adduced by Dr. Fuller, and thus fallaciously met by Dr. Wayland, has been encountered and overturned by Mr. Hague, and his Boston Conference of Ministers.

After quoting the words of Dr. Fuller, as above stated, Mr. Hague proceeds as follows:—

“From these citations, it is evident that the argument of Dr. Fuller, as to the teaching of the New Testament, rests on two points:

“ 1. The fact that the relation of master and slave was recognized throughout the civilized world, by the law of the Roman empire.

“ 2. The silence of the New Testament, as to the duty of dissolving that relation.”

The above is the analysis, we may say the *version*, which Mr. Hague gives of Dr. Fuller's argument; and which he sets himself, in the subsequent pages of his book, most learnedly and laboriously to refute.

Now, in view of the above statement, we would ask Mr. Hague, or any one else who may choose to answer for him, in what part of the paragraphs quoted by him, as containing Dr. Fuller's argument, he found the words, “throughout the civilized world, by the law of the Roman empire,” or any thing equivalent to them.

If he did not find these phrases, nor their equivalent, in Dr. Fuller's argument, we desire to be informed by what authority he has taken the liberty to introduce them as one of the “*two points*” on which the said argument is declared to rest?

Again, as it was the existence of masters and slaves *in the primitive churches*, together with minute *instructions to each* as to their relative duties, which constituted one of the fundamental propositions of Dr. Fuller's argument, and without which it was of course no argument at all, we desire to be told why this proposition was totally suppressed in the analysis, and *another proposition*, which was not Dr. Fuller's, and which had no relation to his argument, introduced in its place?

Finally, as Dr. Fuller's argument manifestly

rests on the three propositions above stated, namely, the duty of the apostles, as inspired teachers, the existence of slavery in the primitive churches, and the silence of the New Testament respecting the duty of doing it away, we should be pleased to learn by what authority Mr. Hague has represented it in his analysis, as resting on only *two points*; and one of these, not only one which had not been named by Dr. Fuller, but which, if allowed, would turn his whole argument into nonsense.

How these singular blunders came to be perpetrated by Mr. Hague and his Conference of Ministers, we presume not to say. *This* we will say, however, that they have made a perfect caricature of Dr. Fuller's argument, or rather, they have set up in place of it a *man of straw*, which they have belabored, apparently with as good intent as though it were a thing of life and power. As to the veritable argument of Dr. Fuller, we see nothing of it in Mr. Hague's pages, except as we see it in the Doctor's own words, as quoted above. As to the rest of the book, we find but little to which, so far as the argument is concerned, any Southern man would see cause to object. The great mass of the treatise relates to matters and things, chiefly appertaining to the *Roman law*, which, so far as we know, would be disputed by no one.

Since writing the above, it has occurred to us, that there may perhaps be some, and possibly Mr. Hague and his endorsers may be of this class, who cannot see the difference between Dr. Fuller's argument, as stated by himself, and the same as represented in Mr. Hague's analysis; in other words, who cannot perceive the difference be-

tween what was due from the apostles to those who formed the elements of their own *churches*, and what was due from the same to those who formed part of the *Jewish commonwealth* or the *Roman empire*. The difference is this: as it regarded the various political or governmental organizations of the earth, the apostles had no responsibility. They formed no part of those organizations; they were charged with no message to those organizations; the religion which they taught was in no way identified with those organizations; and for what was done by authority of those organizations they were in no way accountable. Hence the consideration that they did not condemn any practice recognized by such organizations, provided it had no existence in the churches, can prove nothing as to the guilt or innocence of such practice. Hence the circumstance that the apostles did not condemn slavery, had it had *no existence* in their churches, could have proved nothing as to the innocence or guilt of slaveholding. And hence the argument of Dr. Fuller, as stated by Mr. Hague, is a perfectly *dead letter*. It is, in fact, a piece of the shallowest sort of sophistry, which no man of discernment and candor would ever urge as an *argument*; and which, we should think, no discerning opponent would consider worthy of a serious refutation.

As it regarded the *churches*, however, the case was precisely the reverse of this. Here the responsibility of the apostles was paramount and inevitable. The churches were formed under their own hand, and in agreement with their own regulations. They were bound to see that only

proper persons were admitted, and that none but proper relations and practices were allowed. The welfare of the individual members, the prosperity of the churches, the honor of religion, and their own reputation, as religious guides and teachers, were all involved in this matter, and demanded at their hands the most watchful and scrupulous fidelity. Hence, they were bound to denounce every unholy relation known to exist among the churches. Hence did any relation exist which was not thus denounced, the *silence* of the apostles was conclusive proof that it was unobjectionable. And hence the argument of Dr. Fuller, based on the *silence* of the apostles, touching the relation of slavery, which was *known to exist in their own churches*, is not only essentially different from the version given of it by Mr. Hague, but is constructed on principles of the most logical and demonstrative precision.

CHAPTER II.

After furnishing the foregoing analysis and exposition of Dr. Fuller's argument, Mr. Hague occupies the next five pages of his book in maintaining, and in proving, as he supposes, that "slavery under the Jewish law" had been long extinct; and that there were no slaves in Palestine at the time of our Saviour's ministry. Well, suppose we admit all for which he here contends. Suppose we admit that, at the time of Christ's mission, slavery by the law of Moses was extinct; and that, in the land of Palestine, at the same

time, there was no such thing known as either slave or slave-owner;—what has all this to do, we would inquire, with the argument of Dr. Fuller? It is no part of that argument, that there were slaves under the Mosaic law, nor in Judea, nor in any other country, nor under any other law, *out of the churches*. The argument is, that there were slaves and slaveholders *in certain churches*—where the apostles had jurisdiction, and where they were personally and specially responsible. The assertion that there were no slaveholders in Palestine, at the time referred to, may therefore be true, and yet Dr. Fuller's argument remain in full force.

Although the argument on this point requires nothing further at our hands, yet it may not be uninteresting to examine the evidence by which the writer attempts to prove, as he says, “that there is not furnished to us in the New Testament, or any contemporary history, the least vestige of a reason for believing that our Saviour, or the apostles, ever came in contact with slavery in their native country.”

After giving a quotation from Dr. Barnes, Mr. Hague refers to the parable of the “prodigal son,” and two other places, where he observes that the term used to denote servants is *misthioi*, and is properly rendered *hired servants*. This is all very true; but we would ask, what does it prove? Does it prove that *doulos*, from *douleuo* to serve, and properly rendered *servant* or *slave*, also means a *hired* servant? On the contrary, it proves clearly that the New Testament writers had their appropriate term for hired servants, and that that term was not *doulos*; that when they

meant to designate hired servants, they employed the term *misthioi*; and that when they meant servants that were not hired, that is, bond-servants, or slaves, they used some other word. From these facts the proof is clear, that, when we meet with the term *douloi* in the New Testament, the meaning cannot be *hired servants*. It must then be bond-servants, or slaves. Thus it would seem that this argument from *misthioi* proves just the reverse of what it was intended to prove!

In view of the foregoing, we refer to the New Testament; and the first case which presents itself is the passage, Matt. viii. 9, where the centurion says to Christ, speaking of the absolute submission of his dependents, "I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this man, Go; and he goeth: and to another, Come; and he cometh: and to my servant, *doulo mou, my slave*, Do this, and he doeth it." The phraseology here used—the argument of the writer—and the connection of the narrative—all concur in showing that a *slave*, and *not* a hired servant, was designated. And what said the Saviour to this guilty slaveholder? Did he denounce him as a felon, as Mr. Hague would have done? Hear him. "And Jesus, when he heard this, was astonished; and said to those who followed him, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." Not found so great faith in Israel, and yet the subject of that faith was a confessed slaveholder! And yet Mr. Hague assures us, that the Saviour never came in contact with slavery in his own country!

We come next to the parable of the "talents." Matt. xxv. 30:—"Cast ye the unprofitable ser-

vant, *achreion doulon*, the unprofitable slave, into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Will Mr. Hague say that *doulos* here means a *hired servant*? Will he say that it is, or ever has been, customary to punish hired servants as here described? Or will he persist in saying that "the pictures of life and manners contained in the four Gospels are not in harmony with the supposition of the existence of slavery among the Jews"?

See also Luke xii. 47:—"And that servant, *doulos*, which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes." Will Mr. Hague affirm that the person here designated by *doulos* is a *hired servant*? Is it usual about Boston to beat hired servants with many stripes? See also sundry other places.

In view of these facts, we would advise Mr. Hague to examine the New Testament with more care before he again ventures to charge his brethren, who are probably as intelligent and honest as himself, with having corrupted the doctrine and perverted the principles of the gospel in order to sustain "a sentiment which is wicked, inhuman, anti-christian, and accursed." And perhaps it would be nearly as well for the Boston Conference to inquire a little into the accuracy and truth of statements, before they permit them to go to the public under their sanction, bearing such striking marks of indiscretion, not to say, of ignorance or inattention.

The reasoning of the writer on this point is so remarkable, that we trust we shall be excused if we give it in full:—"Corroborative of this position

is the fact, that the pictures of life and manners contained in the four Gospels are not in harmony with the supposition of the existence of slavery among the Jews. In the parable of the prodigal son, which delineates the condition of a rich landholder, the term to denote *servants* is *μισθοι*, from *μισθος*, a reward, and is properly rendered, hired servants. This word could not be applied to a slave. In the parable of the shepherd, in John x. the word *μισθωτος*, from the same root, is used, and is translated 'hireling.' The same word is employed for the servants of the fishermen, in the beginning of Mark's Gospel. There is not furnished to us in the New Testament, or any contemporary history, the least vestige of a reason for believing that our Saviour or the apostles ever came in contact with slavery in their native country."

That is to say, there are *three places* in the New Testament where the term *misthioi*, or its equivalent, is used to denote *hired servants*. Therefore the word *doulos*, which occurs more than a hundred times, in various connections, in the same scriptures, cannot mean slave! Therefore, "the pictures of life and manners," contained in the same scriptures, are incompatible with the existence of slavery among the Jews!! Therefore, there is not furnished in the New Testament, or any other contemporary history, the least vestige of a reason for believing that our Saviour or his apostles ever came in contact with slavery in their native land!!! In short, because there is allusion to hired servants in the three places referred to, therefore there can be no allusion to slavery in any other part of the New

Testament, or in any contemporary history! Such is a specimen of the logic by which Mr. Hague has undertaken to overthrow the arguments of Wayland and Fuller, and to set the world right on the subject of slavery.

At the risk of being charged with needless prolixity, we must recur, for a moment, to the reasoning of the Reviewer respecting the testimony of the Old Testament scriptures. On pages 11 and 12 we read the following:—

“ This argument has respect, *necessarily*, to the slave system recognized by the Roman law, which was then so extensively supreme, because there is no evidence that our Saviour or the apostles ever came in contact with slavery under the Jewish law. Among the people of Palestine, involuntary servitude had been brought to an end, hundreds of years before the Christian era, by the natural operation of the code of Moses. Every slave bought of the heathen received the offer of freedom at the end of every seventh year, if he were a Jewish proselyte; and whether he were a Jewish proselyte or not, the jubilee trumpet sounded forth the decree of liberty at the close of every half century. The passage quoted by Dr. Fuller, from the xxv. chapter of Leviticus, which forbids the purchase of bondmen from any except the heathen and strangers, saying: ‘ Of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids, and ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever;’* must be understood in consistency with the law of the jubilee, which had been laid

* Verse 46.

down in a preceding part of that same chapter, which says: 'Thou shalt cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month, in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land; and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and every man unto his family.*' Such was the law of jubilee; limiting the sales of men, as it did the sales of land, whereof it said: 'According to the multitude of years after the jubilee, thou shalt buy of thy neighbor; according to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of years thou shalt diminish the price of it:' when, therefore, another law enacts that bondmen shall be purchased of the children of the heathen, instead of the children of Israel, it must be understood that the purchase is modified by the previous law, and that the meaning of the latter statute is not the entail of perpetual slavery on any class, but simply the confining of the Jews in the purchase of servants, always and for ever, to the children of the heathen."

Now, allowing the case to be as here stated, the argument proves that there was no slavery among the Jews after the proclamation of the first jubilee, or it proves nothing. By the argument, *all* slaves were then set free. If the same or others became enslaved afterwards, it must have been by the operation of causes which could act and produce their effects as well after

* Verses 9, 10.

the fiftieth or hundredth jubilee, as immediately after the first. But as it is known that such causes *did* exist and operate, and as it is admitted that slavery did prevail among the Hebrews after the first jubilee, it follows that the institution of the jubilee had no effect in the eventual abolition of slavery; and, of course, that the argument, founded on the provisions of that institution, proves nothing.

But where is the proof, we would ask, that *all* slaves were liberated on the year of jubilee? Mr. Hague furnishes none; nor is there any to be found in the scriptures to which he refers. On the contrary, it is expressly asserted, that while the Hebrew slave was entitled to freedom every jubilee year, the slave of foreign descent was doomed to perpetual bondage. "They shall be your bondmen for ever."

We are aware that Mr. Hague has attempted to explain away this language by asserting that it relates to another topic, and must have a different meaning; but assertion is not proof. Besides, any one who will take the pains to refer to the place will see at once that the object of the law-giver was to contrast the condition of the Hebrew with that of the Gentile slave; and that the difference was made to consist, not in the severity of their usage, but in the perpetuity of their bondage.

But suppose Mr. Hague's *construction* be admitted, can we be told what he will gain by it? Suppose it be conceded that the clause, "they shall be your bondmen for ever," relates, as he says, to the perpetuity of the statute; and that the meaning is, that the Jews should be restricted

“in the purchase of servants, always and for ever, to the children of the heathen.” We have then the proof, by his own reasoning, not only that the Mosaic law authorized the purchase of slaves, but also, and more especially, that that provision was of perpetual force and obligation. What, then, becomes of the writer’s doctrine, that slavery was abolished by the force of the jubilee statute; and, still more, of his position afterwards assumed, that the continuance of slavery was inconsistent with the spirit of the Mosaic precepts? Slavery was inconsistent with the spirit of the Mosaic precepts; and yet, by the writer’s own showing and maintaining, one of those precepts expressly provided for the perpetual continuance of the said institution!!

So far, indeed, was slavery from having been abolished by the operation of the jubilee statute, or during the earlier ages of the commonwealth, that we are assured by Mr. Hague, that it was prevalent in its most odious forms in the times of the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah; the former of whom wrote about seven hundred years before Christ, and the latter about one hundred years later. Here, then, the writer has furnished proof, not only against the efficiency of his own reasoning, but subversive of the facts which said reasoning was intended to substantiate.

To prove that the continuance of slavery was inconsistent with the law of Moses, Mr. Hague quotes Is. lviii. 6, and Jer. xxxiv. 12. (See pages 13 and 14.) An inspection of the passages will show, however, that neither prophet had allusion to the unlawfulness or to the sinfulness of slavery. The former was declaiming against the hypocrisy

of the nation, who pretended to honor God with solemn fasts and festivals, while their hands were full of rapacity, falsehood, cruelty, oppression, and blood. The latter was rebuking the people for not setting their slaves free on the seventh and fiftieth years, according to the statute of Moses above referred to. While the former plainly utters no denunciation against slavery in its legal forms, the latter distinctly recognizes the institution as established by law, and rebukes its abuses.

Thus it would seem, that, instead of substantiating any one of his positions respecting the abolition of slavery in Palestine, Mr. Hague has left it sufficiently clear that the disfranchisement of the year of jubilee applied only to slaves of Hebrew descent—that slavery existed in the times of Isaiah and Jeremiah—and that the law respecting its continuance was distinctly recognized by the latter prophet only six hundred years before the Christian era. If there were no slaves in Palestine in the times of Christ and the apostles, therefore, the proof is clearly not to be found in the law nor in the prophets.

CHAPTER III.

The next eighteen pages of Mr. Hague's book—from the 19th to the 36th inclusive—relate to the alleged sanctions and operations of the Roman law. In these pages, on which the author appears to have bestowed a deal of labor, we find little or

nothing to which we see cause to object. The object of the writer is to prove — what, so far as we know, has never been denied — that the apostles were not responsible for what existed under the authority of Roman law, but had no existence in their own churches; and that, therefore, the circumstance that such things were not condemned in their writings can constitute no reason for believing that they were not sinful, or that they could claim the benefit of apostolic sanction.

For example, great pains have been taken to prove that the Roman law contained sundry oppressive enactments in connection with the relation of parent and child, and sundry of the same sort in connection with the relation of husband and wife, in regard to which we have no precept of condemnation from the apostles. The author might have gone on, and said the same thing of sundry enactments in connection with the relation of slavery, and perhaps a hundred other practices, known and tolerated under the Roman government. But the question to be asked is, *Why* were the apostles thus silent? This question has been answered by Mr. Hague himself. The practices alluded to had no existence in the churches. They were not known among the disciples. And, therefore, for the most obvious reason, the apostles had no occasion to notice them. But, we ask, can this be said of the relation itself of master and slave? Can it be said that this relation had no existence in the churches? If it can, then this is a position which remains yet to be proved, and which has indeed been virtually surrendered by Mr. Hague himself. If it cannot, then Mr. Hague's remarks about the

Roman law and its enactments have no more to do with the argument of Dr. Fuller than they have with the reasoning of Plato on the immortality of the soul. They may be good reasoning against Mr. Hague's man of straw; that is, against the argument erroneously ascribed to Dr. Fuller. But against the real argument as stated by Dr. Fuller himself, and understood and responded to by Dr. Wayland, they oppose not the weight of a feather—for the reason just stated, that they relate altogether to a separate and distinct thing.

This, one would suppose, would be found sufficiently clear for most readers on ordinary subjects; but as the matter in question seems to have become so greatly mystified in the minds of some readers, and some writers also, if we can be excused, we will place the argument and its refutation in more immediate connection.

Dr. Fuller's argument may be thus stated:—The apostles were bound to denounce every relation known to exist in their churches, which they considered heinously sinful. But they did not denounce the relation of master and slave. Therefore, either the relation of master and slave was not known to exist in the churches, or was not considered heinously sinful. But the said relation was known to exist in the churches. Therefore it was not considered heinously sinful.

Now, be it observed, Mr. Hague, in his remarks on the Roman law, neither refutes nor denies any one of the foregoing propositions. On the contrary, he admits them all. 1. He admits that the apostles were bound to denounce all sinful relations known to exist in the churches, and repudi-

ates the doctrine of Dr. Wayland as highly dishonorable to said writers. 2. He admits that the relation of master and slave did exist in the churches, and contends only for its *modification*. He says, "the domestic relations themselves were fully recognized, and moral precepts given to all who were united in them." See pages 20 and 29. 3. He admits that the relation of master and slave was never denounced, nor declared to be sinful, by any of the New Testament writers; and proceeds, after his fashion, to account for such omission. How then, it may be asked, has he attempted to refute Dr. Fuller's argument? Not by denying, or attempting to overthrow, any one of the propositions on which that argument is rested, but by admitting them all, and laboring to establish *another proposition*, which no one ever denied;—namely, that the apostles were not bound to, and usually did not, censure practices which were sanctioned by imperial authority, but had no existence in the churches and among the disciples!!

Surely nothing need be added to evince the futility of such reasoning. It seems to us not a little strange, that a man of Mr. Hague's literary reputation should venture before the public with such an argument—such a refutation. And perhaps it is not less strange, that a conclave of "grave and reverend signiors," such as we take the "Boston Conference of Ministers" to be, should commit themselves by the publication of such a treatise, as an improvement on the argument of Dr. Wayland.

We have shown, we think, that, in his remarks on the Roman law, Mr. Hague has fully admitted,

and of course has amply sustained, every part of Dr. Fuller's argument. We will now show that, by his own reasoning, he has conducted his readers to the same conclusion, and has thereby proved all for which Southern Christians have ever contended.

On pages 21—26, he maintains that under the Roman empire, the relation of parent and child was identified with sundry oppressive enactments and usages, which were entirely at variance with the precepts of justice and humanity. On pages 25—32, he maintains substantially the same things respecting the relation of husband and wife. He maintains further, as we understand him, that, when the subjects of the empire were converted, and came to submit to the demands of Christian precept, they were permitted to bring their respective relations into the churches, but not the odious practices which Roman legislation had affixed to those relations. Hence it is, as he contends, that, while the relations themselves were recognized, we find no apostolic precepts levelled against the evils with which those relations were legally associated. That is to say, the relations were not denounced because they were not disapproved—the evils were not denounced because they were unknown in the churches.

Now, in view of these facts, we would ask Mr. Hague—1. how he knows that the relations of parents and children, and husbands and wives, existed in the primitive churches. He will say, doubtless, because he finds the said relations repeatedly referred to in the New Testament writings. Very good. In precisely the same

way we know that the relation of master and slave existed in the said churches:— we find it repeatedly referred to in the New Testament writings. 2. We would next know of Mr. Hague, how he knows that those relations did not involve the same odious usages which were connected with them under the sanctions of Roman law. He will probably say, because we have no proof that said evils were known in the churches— because they were plainly at variance with the precepts of the gospel—and because, had they been known, they would certainly have been denounced by the apostles. In just the same way we know that the evils connected with slavery under the Roman law had no existence in the churches. 3. We would also be glad to learn from Mr. Hague how he knows that the relation of parent and child, &c., is in itself a separate and distinct thing from the abuses which may be, and often are, connected with it. He will say, most probably, because, while the abuses are clearly wrong, the relation itself is as clearly tolerated and approved by the inspired writers. In exactly the same way we know, that, while every thing oppressive and injurious about slaveholding is condemned, the relation itself is as clearly allowed and approved.

The sum of this reasoning is just this. By showing that the relation of parent and child, and husband and wife, though legally identified with sundry odious and unchristian usages, may be so modified without changing the elements of the relation itself, as to harmonize perfectly with the system of Christian ethics, Mr. Hague has fully established all for which Southern Christians

have contended; and has demonstrated that the sin of slavery consists, not in the relation of master and slave, but in the abuses and evils with which that relation may be, and often is, connected. He has further demonstrated, that, whatever may be said of the innocence of the relation of parent and child, and husband and wife, in a New Testament point of view, the same may be urged, and with equal effect, in favor of the innocence of slaveholding. In short, he has placed these three relations on one and the same foundation, and it is utterly impossible to show that one is sinful without showing that *all* are so.

We are not unmindful of the fact that Mr. Hague has discovered a good deal of shuffling about the relation of master and slave in the churches. Notwithstanding the admissions above referred to, we are aware that much that he has written seems to be based on an implied *denial* that any such relation as that of master and slave was known among the primitive disciples. We suppose, however, that he must mean either the one thing or the other. That is, he must mean either that the relation did exist as stated, or that it did not exist. If it did not exist, in his view, we would ask—what did he mean by saying—“The domestic relations themselves are fully recognized”? p. 29. What did he mean by the expression, “modified all the permanent relations of life”? page 20. If the domestic relations were recognized, slavery was a domestic relation, and was therefore certainly recognized along with the others. And if all the permanent relations of life were modified by the gospel, slavery was one of those relations, and must have been modified,

and adapted to the condition of the churches, as well as others. But if these relations were only *modified*, by which we understand him to mean divested of their sinful appendages — then they could not have been dissolved nor destroyed. So that there were as truly masters and slaves in the churches, as there were husbands and wives, and parents and children. Besides, if he believed that there were not masters and slaves in the churches, why did he not deny Dr. Fuller's second proposition, and thereby overturn his argument at once, rather than occupy some twenty pages in trying to explain the *modifications* of the various relations of life, by the force of Christian principle? And last of all, why did he not tell his readers plainly, and at once, what relation that *is*, so frequently alluded to in the New Testament, as that of masters and servants? These and other considerations compel us to believe, that, while Mr. Hague was unwilling to admit as much as Dr. Wayland admitted, because he thought it would be yielding too much to his opponent, he was compelled, on the other hand, by the force of his own convictions, to concede, indirectly and by implication, fully as much as had been conceded by Dr. Wayland. Hence, as before stated, the New York Recorder was correct when it represented Mr. Hague as taking substantially the same ground as had been previously taken by Dr. Wayland and Dr. Barnes.

CHAPTER IV.

On page 32 we read the following: "In regard to any such relation," master and slave for example, "which may be in question, the main thing to be ascertained is this: How do the precepts of Christ bear upon it?" That is to say, the writer would first of all decide that slavery is a very wicked thing; and then would proceed to show that, as the precepts of Christ condemn all wicked things, they must of course condemn slaveholding. Some two or three pages of the pamphlet are devoted to this argument, and furnish one of the most palpable specimens of *petitio principii* — begging the question — of which we have any recollection. We have no dispute with anti-slavery men about the moral precepts of the gospel. We fully believe that they condemn all unrighteousness — all injustice, oppression, and inhumanity. And just so soon as Mr. Hague shall prove to us that the relation of master and slave necessarily involves any one of these offences, or that it is in any degree incompatible with what he calls "the law of Christ," "the law of love," &c., there will be an end of the argument. This, however, is the precise point in dispute; and, until it is proved that slaveholding *does* involve some of the known forms of wickedness, it is useless to talk to us about the *bearing* of the moral precepts of Christ and the apostles.

We would observe here, that the above statement of the question is not less exceptionable, in

our view, than the argument which it involves. It is not true in point of fact — still less is it in accordance with the argument of Dr. Fuller — that, in regard to any such relation, “the *main thing* to be ascertained is — How do the precepts of Christ bear upon it?” The *main thing* to be ascertained in relation to the guilt or innocence of any such relation is, — was such relation known to exist in the churches? And if so, then, how was it treated? — that is, was it allowed or condemned by the inspired writers? Suppose the question concerned the guilt or innocence of the marriage relation, or of the relation of parents and children; — would the *main* inquiry be — How do the general precepts of Christ bear upon such relation? On the contrary, does not every one see, that the main question must be — was such relation known to exist in the churches? And if so, how was it treated? — was it allowed and approved, or was it censured and condemned? If the former, who does not perceive that either the apostles must be denounced as untrue to their trust, or that the general precepts of the gospel must be construed in accordance with the innocence of said relation?

Now, the truth is — this is the precise course pursued by Mr. Hague in reference to the two relations above mentioned. He finds the relation of parent and child, and of husband and wife, fully recognized by the inspired writers; and sundry precepts having direct and exclusive reference thereto. He therefore justly, and most naturally, concludes that the said relations are allowed, and of course that they cannot be sinful. Why, then, we ask, has he not pursued the same

course of argument with the relation under consideration? He finds the relation of master and servant alluded to, and precepts, having special reference thereto, occurring with as much frequency, and as obviously, as he finds either of the above mentioned. If he really believes this relation to be that of *employer* and *hireling*, as he would insinuate in some parts of his book, why has he not furnished the proof of this, and thereby demolished Dr. Fuller's argument at once — as such proof would most effectually have done? — If, on the other hand, he believes that the relation of master and slave *did* exist in the churches, as he has admitted in other parts of his book, why has he not proceeded to reason concerning it, just as he has reasoned respecting the other permanent social relations? Why evade the point really at issue, under the pretext that the point mainly to be considered was the bearing of the *general* precepts of Christ, touching a relation which is admitted to have existed in the churches, and to have received the direct and special attention of the apostles? In other words, why appeal to the *general* precepts of the New Testament, to determine the moral character of a given relation, when it is admitted that the same document contains sundry *particular* precepts, having special and exclusive application to the said relation?

On page 36 we read the following: —

“In exact accordance with these views, is the style and manner of apostolic address in the epistles of the New Testament. The terms used to designate the relation of master and servant are not those which imply man's ownership of man; and from the terms themselves, the advocate of

slavery can prove nothing, because the same and corresponding terms are used in lands where slavery does not exist. The exact import of the term will vary according to the law by which you determine the condition of a *doulos*, or servant: just as it is now in this land; in Carolina, a servant means a slave, and in New England it means a freeman voluntarily hired."

Here it is affirmed, 1. That the terms used in the New Testament to denote the relation of master and slave, are not those which imply man's ownership of man: 2. That the Greek terms, *despotes* and *doulos*, correspond exactly with our English words, master and servant: 3. That the said Greek terms are used in lands where slavery does not exist, &c. These are all very important positions. If they are true, they must annihilate the argument of Dr. Fuller, and effectually stop the mouth of every opponent who pleads for New Testament usage. And seeing that such is the fact, it is strange that Mr. Hague should not have thought it worth his while to sustain them by something better than his own assertion. Nothing like proof, so far as we can see, has been attempted. This being the case, and as one assertion is generally as good as another, we shall balance the account for the present, by the opposing testimony of Dr. Wayland and Dr. Church. Although these gentlemen may not have as high claims to *eloquence* as Mr. Hague, it is to be presumed that, as Greek scholars and Biblical critics, they may be so nearly his equals, that the two taken together may be quite sufficient to counterpoise him alone.

In view of the above, Mr. Hague will confer a

favor on us, and perhaps on others, by answering the following questions:—1. What are the Greek terms used in the apostles' day, which properly denote or imply man's ownership of man? in other words, which properly signify slave and slave-owner? 2. As *misthios* was the proper scripture term for designating a free or hired servant, what was the proper Greek word for slave? 3. In what land was the term *doulos* ever used, where slavery did not exist, and where it was employed, as he says, to designate a free-man voluntarily hired? These are questions which, if correctly answered, can scarcely fail to shed light on the point at issue between Mr. Hague and Drs. Wayland and Church.

CHAPTER V.

On pages 36 and 37, we find the following:—

“Here, no advice is given to the young pastor as to his manner of addressing masters: it relates to servants only. And of servants, two classes are contemplated; first, those who were Christian servants of heathen masters are considered. This class is designated by being “under the yoke.” “Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed.” This, as Christians, they were urged to do, even though they might be subject to the worst oppression, in agreement with the address of Peter to the same class; “for this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward

God endure grief, *suffering wrongfully*." A heathen master, interpreting the rights of a servant by the light of the Roman law, would be very likely to commit acts of gross injustice; but the precept enjoining a meek endurance of this wrong, for Christ's sake, can, of course, furnish no sanction to the master's continuance of it. But now, in this Epistle to Timothy, Paul proceeds, in the next sentence, to speak of a different class of cases; those in which *both* the parties were Christians. And here it is quite remarkable, that, instead of directing masters to treat their servants kindly, he calls upon servants themselves to *beware lest they should DESPISE THEIR MASTERS !*"

Here it seems to be admitted that *doulos*, when applied to servants who had heathen masters, denoted real, bona fide slaves. This could not be denied, of course; for, in addition to the admissions of the writer in regard to the Roman law, it is expressly said that they were *under the yoke*; a form of expression which must mean, if it mean any thing, that the persons referred to were bond-servants. But what seems strange about this matter, is, that *doulos*, when applied to those who had heathen masters, should mean *slave*, and when applied to those who had Christian masters, should mean a *freeman*! Whatever may be said of the soundness of this principle of interpretation, it is certainly a very convenient one, inasmuch as it enables the interpreter to make the inspired writers say exactly what suits him. That is, when it suits his purpose, *doulos* may mean slave; but, when his theory demands otherwise, the same term, though found in immediate connection, must mean a freeman!

The case in hand, however, does not admit of as much latitude as we have allowed it. It is not true that *doulos* occurs *twice*; first in relation to one class of servants, and then in relation to another. The truth is, *doulos* occurs but *once*. In the first verse, it is employed to signify those who had heathen masters. In the second verse, when the apostle comes to speak of those having believing masters, instead of repeating the noun *doulos*, or of employing a different term, having a different signification, he uses the personal pronoun *hoi*, *they*, having *douloi* for its antecedent, and of course denoting precisely the same thing. And what serves to limit the meaning of the pronoun, if possible, still more is, it is qualified as truly and as much by the phrase, "under the yoke," as is the antecedent itself. So that if the first class mentioned were slaves, as seems to be conceded, the connection furnishes conclusive proof that the second class were slaves also. We have then, here, even by the showing of Mr. Hague himself, the clearest proof, that there were slaves and slave-owners in the churches to which Timothy was sent.

It is strange that Mr. Hague should see evidences of emancipation in the exhortation to servants to *despise not their masters*. If these servants were freemen, as he contends, they could have had no masters. And if they had masters, in the sense of employers, who paid them for their services, they could have been under no temptation to despise them. And if they *did* despise them, it could have made no material difference, as it regarded the interests of the churches, or the honor of religion; nor could it

have been esteemed a matter worthy of apostolic interposition. All that could have been necessary in such case — and in fact the only proper remedy for such inconvenience — would have been then, as is now, the separation of the parties. On the contrary, when it is understood that the relation alluded to was permanent, and that the slave, under the circumstances of his new and improved condition, as a member of the church, and as a brother to his master, might be betrayed into the exercise of an undue elevation, the exhortation of the apostle becomes both seasonable and appropriate. To a candid and unprejudiced reader, therefore, as it seems to us, the apostolic injunction alluded to, instead of furnishing evidence that the servants were freemen, must prove exactly the reverse, and establish the facts, not only that the relation of master and slave existed in the churches, but that the parties were expected and required to live together on terms of mutual kindness and good-will. The slave was to respect and love his Christian master. The master, on the other hand, was to do to his slave that which was *just and equal*.

That Christianity *modified* the relation of slave and slaveholder, just as it modified the relation of parents and children, by subjecting the parties to the influence of Christian principle, is not to be doubted. But that it *destroyed* the relation in the former case, any more than it did in the latter, has never been proved. On the contrary, that the said relation was not destroyed, we have now the proof furnished by Mr. Hague himself.

All that is said, here and elsewhere, about the duty of slaves to submit with meekness to unjust

and oppressive treatment, and of the fact that no argument can be derived from such precepts in favor of slaveholding, is cheerfully admitted. Dr. Fuller's argument is rested, not on precepts addressed to the slaves, but altogether on what were addressed to the masters.

On pages 40, 41, we read the following : —

“But when, in the next sentence, Paul makes a transition, and addresses himself to masters who were Christians, his words are few, but very significant; for, while he tells them to remember that tribunal where there is no respect of persons, he not only forbids their using force in the government of their servants, but even to refrain from *threatening* to do so. He says, ‘Ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.’ In the Greek text, the word *apeilen*, translated *threatening*, is preceded by the article, and has a more specific sense. Dr. Bloomfield has evidently bestowed some labor on the passage, in investigating the force of the term; and says (in his Notes on the Greek Testament), that the word, with the article, signifies ‘the punishments awarded by the law.’ This being the case, the precept given by the apostle to Ephesian masters was a direct prohibition against their availing themselves of power conferred by the Roman law in the government of their servants. It was an explicit command to rise above the Roman law in this relation, and to regulate their conduct by the law of Christ, at whose judgment-seat they must stand. But the Roman law being set aside, where could the Christian master find any

authority in the law of Christ for holding his brethren in involuntary servitude by means of violence?"

Here it is said, the Christian master is commanded to "forbear threatening," &c. And what is the meaning of this, we would ask, more than that he should govern his servants agreeably to the mild and equitable precepts of the gospel? The servants were commanded to obey their masters with fear and trembling; and the masters were required to treat their servants with lenity and kindness, "forbearing threatening." What is there in all this, we would ask, which is not in strict accordance with the relation of master and slave, and which is not generally witnessed in our Southern churches? If there be any general exception to the rule here laid down, it is found in the fact, that slaves in *our churches* know nothing about that *fear* and *trembling*, enjoined by the apostle on the Ephesian servants.

But it is said that masters were commanded not only not to employ force, but even to abstain from threatening, in the treatment of their servants. Very good. And now, we would ask, what does this prove? Does it prove that the servants were freemen? If so, we should be pleased to learn by what sort of reasoning it is done. If the servants were *freemen*, we should be glad to be told what power the masters had to use force in compelling obedience. If the masters had no power to employ force, we should be pleased to learn with what propriety or effect they could employ threatening to use such power. And if they had no power either to enforce obedience, or effectively or rationally to use

threatening, we should like to be informed with what sort of consistency the apostle could have forbid the said masters to employ either. Mr. Hague is the pastor of a church where there are no slaves. What, we would inquire, would his people think of his sanity, were he gravely to exhort "masters" not only not to use force in the government of their "servants," but even to "refrain from threatening to do so"? And we should be glad to know, too, what the *hired servants* of his congregation would think of him, were he to exhort *them*, in like manner, to "be obedient unto their masters, according to the flesh, with *fear* and *trembling*." The obvious truth is, by the showing of Mr. Hague himself, this language of Paul could have been employed in reference to none but slaves and slaveholders. None but slaves could have been commanded to obey their masters with *fear* and *trembling*. And the fact that masters were commanded to forbear threatening, proves that they possessed the power, not to threaten only, but also to put their threats in force. But if they did possess such power, then their servants were *slaves*, and they themselves were *slave-owners*.

CHAPTER VI.

On pages 41, 42, we read as follows:—

"The passage in the Epistle to the Colossians (iii. 22—25 and iv. 1) presents no feature of the case different from that which has already been exhibited. Christian servants were exhorted to

cultivate the domestic virtues on those same grounds which have already been suggested. They are bidden to rise superior to the legal relation, and to yield a *voluntary* service for the sake of their heavenly Master; and then follow these spirit-stirring words: ‘And whatsoever you do, do it heartily to the Lord, and *not to men*, knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ.’ The spirit which glows in the address is abhorrent from the idea that any man had a rightful claim to hold these Christian brethren in an involuntary servitude.”

This passage in Colossians, it is said, presents no feature of the case different from that which has already been exhibited. This is undoubtedly correct. And as the passages above referred to clearly recognize the relation of slave and slave-owner, so also does this.

But it is said, “The servants are bidden to yield a voluntary service for the sake of their heavenly Master.” We ask—could such language be addressed by a sane man to *hired* servants? Are hired servants apt to yield any other than a voluntary service? Being freemen, is it not to be supposed that they would serve such masters only as were recommended by their inclination, or their interest? Or, in case they did not wish to serve at all, being freemen, did it not lie wholly at their own option whether they should serve or not? Why then, we would ask, should apostolic authority be thought requisite to induce them to serve *voluntarily*?

But suppose these Colossian servants should not be likely to serve voluntarily—what of it?

Has Christ ever ordained that hired servants should yield a voluntary, rather than an involuntary service? Or does the honor of his religion demand that they should serve one set of masters, rather than another? Why should the apostle consider it necessary to enforce a voluntary service on persons who had an indisputable right, both civil and religious, to consult their own inclinations? Mr. Hague has been preaching for years to mixed congregations of freemen. We would ask him, whether he has ever found it necessary to exhort hired servants to yield to their masters a *voluntary* service — for the sake of Christ? Or whether, were he to do so, he would not be apt to surprise both the *helps* and their masters?

On the contrary, the fact that the Colossian servants were commanded, as alleged, to yield a voluntary service to their masters, proves, demonstrably, that they were liable to yield a service which was not voluntary, that is, a service induced by *constraint*. And the fact that the said servants were placed in circumstances which made them liable to yield a constrained service, and in which apostolic authority was deemed requisite to induce them to render such service *voluntarily*, affords unanswerable proof, that the said servants were slaves, and that their masters were slaveholders. And when it is borne in mind that Mr. Hague has adroitly substituted the word *service* in place of the word *obedience*, as used by the apostle, this argument will be found to have lost none of its weight. Thus has it been proved again, by the concessions of the author himself,

that there were both slaves and slaveholders in the apostolic churches.

But what does Mr. Hague mean, we would ask, by saying that slaves "were bidden to rise superior to the legal relation"? Does he mean that these servants were legally the slave property of their masters, and that they were required, as Christians, to yield a willing, rather than a constrained and reluctant obedience? If so, this is the precise view entertained by the advocates of slavery, and the exact thing which the Christian slaves in our churches are accustomed to do. But if, by these expressions of his, he meant that the primitive servants were not legally held as slaves, or that, being so held, they were commanded by the apostle to emancipate themselves, or in any way to disannul the legal claim of their masters, then his language becomes at once either self-contradictory or absurd. If he mean that the persons referred to were *not* legally held as slaves, why talk of their rising superior to the *legal relation*? And if, on the other hand, his meaning be that they *were* legally held as slaves, and that the apostle commanded them to *disfranchise* themselves, he represents the apostle as commanding what was plainly impossible. In either case, his views indicate a singular want of perspicuity touching the subject which he has undertaken to discuss. And in either case, his language leaves the undoubted implication, that the relation of master and slave formed a permanent relation of the Colossian church.

CHAPTER VII.

On page 43, we read the following:—

“As an incidental illustration of this state of things which we have been contemplating, it would be difficult to imagine any thing more expressive than the letter of Paul to Philemon. The whole of it is in exact accordance with that condition of the Christian church, which distinguished the apostolic age, when it consisted of scattered communities in Pagan lands, who had come under the law of Christ, and had ceased to determine their duties by the civil law, or to avail themselves of the powers which it conferred, to promote their own worldly benefits by acts of oppression. Onesimus had been the slave of Philemon. He had fled away from his master, and became a Christian, under the ministry of Paul, at Rome. This converted slave the apostle wished to retain at Rome, to minister unto his own necessities; but he did not wish to do it without the concurrence of his beloved Philemon, his ‘fellow-laborer.’ According to the law of Rome, Onesimus was still the property of Philemon, who, as a *citizen*, had a legal claim upon all his services; but the letter does not intimate the slightest probability that Philemon, the *Christian*, would or could urge that claim. So far from this, it is distinctly asserted that the relation of the two parties had been essentially changed. How could that fact be more clearly expressed than in the following words: ‘For perhaps he

therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him for ever; *not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved*, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord?' This latter phrase effectually guards the interpretation of the letter against that sophistry which concedes that Onesimus was Philemon's brother, considered as a *Christian*, but refuses to extend the acknowledgment of brotherhood to *civil* relations and to common life. It shows that the apostle did not speak of brotherhood in some refined, ethereal, spiritual sense, which had no practical issues, but in a sense which would develope itself in substantial benefits to Onesimus as a *man*, as a fellow-creature possessing a kindred nature, and endowed with the same moral, social, and physical sensibilities as was Philemon himself. Certainly there need be no difficulty in admitting the fact of so great a change, when we see that Paul identifies the happiness and interests of Onesimus with his own, and says to his former master: 'If thou count me as a partner, receive him as myself.'"

We observe in the foregoing paragraph sundry points which we shall notice in order.

It is said, "the whole of it," that is, the whole of the epistle to Philemon, "is in exact accordance with that condition of the Christian church which distinguished the apostolic age." To this we most cheerfully respond, *Amen*. We trust the reader will bear it in mind.

It is stated in the next place, that Onesimus was a slave, and that Philemon was his master: that is, that the latter was a real, bona fide *slaveholder*! We have then, at length, even with the

consent of Mr. Hague, found one clear case where *doulos* means slave, and where the relation of slave and slaveholder did certainly exist. Very good.

Mr. Hague affirms that this relation was eventually dissolved. Well, *when* was it dissolved? It was not of course at the time when Onesimus ran off; for with the consent of Mr. Hague, he then ran away from his master, and of course from servitude. At what time, then, we repeat, did the relation of master and slave between these parties cease to exist? Mr. Hague says, at the time of the slave's conversion, at Rome, immediately or shortly before the date of the apostle's letter. Up to this time, then, agreeably to Mr. Hague, Philemon was a real, veritable slaveholder, being such not in name only, but in principle and in fact. Very well.

We have then, at last, found what we have been so long looking for — a real, bona fide, living slaveholder in a Christian church; and that by the free consent and actual agreement of Mr. Hague: for it is not denied that Philemon was a member of the church at Colosse — and had been for an indefinite period — at the time when his man Onesimus made his escape. Could there be a doubt on this point, it must be removed by the fact that the apostle addressed him, not only as an old personal friend and acquaintance, but as a brother of known and established reputation in the church.

Having found a real, living slaveholder in the church, it is important to know how he was treated, and what was thought of him, by the Christians of that day. The apostle writes to

him with marked respect and affection, and with undoubted confidence in his Christian character. He not only recognizes him as a *brother beloved* and *fellow-laborer*, but makes special allusion to the *love* and the *faith* for which he had become distinguished. And yet this man, by the consent of Mr. Hague, was a veritable, practical slaveholder! And still not a whisper that in this thing he was doing wrong!

Mr. Hague says, indeed, that Philemon ceased to be a slaveholder at the time of his slave's conversion. This is not proved — nor is it probable; but granting the case to be as he says, then it will follow, that the relation was dissolved, not by the conversion of the master, but by that of the slave! A Christian master might be the owner of a hundred slaves; but, agreeably to Mr. Hague's theory, they all continued to be slaves, and of course he continued to be their master, until *they* became converted. From this it would seem that the enormous sin of slaveholding consisted, not in holding property in *man*, but in holding property in *Christians*. The absurdity of such a hypothesis refutes itself.

But where is the proof that Philemon ceased to be a slaveholder at the conversion of Onesimus? Mr. Hague produces none; nor does the epistle to Philemon contain any. It is true, Mr. Hague refers to the words of the apostle in the sixteenth verse — “not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved.” But these words, we remark in the first place, contain neither a command, nor the statement of a fact; but simply a *suggestion*, and that grounded on a *probability*. “For perhaps therefore he departed

for a season, that thou shouldst receive him for ever; not now as a servant," &c. In the next place, we remark, these words do not imply that Onesimus should not be taken back as a slave — for it was only in view of this relation, that he was sent back at all; — but that he should be received in the *additional*, and higher, and more endeared relation of a brother beloved. In other words, he was to be received back in the two-fold relation of slave and Christian brother. If Mr. Hague cannot comprehend how these two relations could exist together, and will pay us a visit at the South, we will show him a few illustrations, which may serve both to abate his incredulity, and to sharpen his perceptions.

The truth is, Onesimus did not cease to be Philemon's slave at the time of his conversion. In addition to the circumstance that there is no proof that such was the fact — and the circumstance also that there was no conceivable reason for such change of relation at the time specified, the fact that Paul sent the slave back to his master, with the numerous kind and conciliatory expressions and statements with which his letter abounds, affords conclusive proof that the relation of master and slave was not dissolved. The facts also, that Onesimus was to be received *back* — that he was to be received *for ever* — that he would probably be *profitable* to Philemon — that Paul *besought* Philemon for him — that if he had wronged his master, it was to be put to the apostle's account — all go to show that he was sent back as a *slave*, as well as a *brother* beloved.

Now, it is utterly incredible that the apostle should write such a letter, on such a subject,

under such circumstances, to an actual slaveholder, and say not a word about the guilt of slaveholding, had he considered the practice heinously sinful. Mr. Hague says — “The letter does not intimate the slightest probability that Philemon would or could urge his claim on the services of Onesimus; so far from this, it is distinctly asserted that the relation had been essentially changed.” Indeed! Then, if Philemon was living in sin, or was under obligation to set his slave free, he was left to *infer* this from intimations, insinuations, probabilities, and reservations! And this we are to receive as a specimen of apostolic frankness and fidelity. How very smooth and gentle the apostle must have been touching this great sin, compared with the flaming zeal and the fiery indignation of such men as Mr. Hague!

There can be no doubt that Philemon *did* receive his slave back — and that he received and treated him as a Christian brother — and that the intercourse between them afterwards was mutually kind, affectionate, and confiding; but that the relation was dissolved, or essentially changed, there is neither proof nor probability. On the contrary, the whole letter is predicated on the fact that the said relation was not so changed. But while the letter proves that the relation of master and slave existed between the parties, it also proves that the relation consists, not only with the operation of Christian principle, but with the highest exercise of Christian confidence and affection. And if Mr. Hague would take the trouble to inform himself touching the state of our Southern churches, he would find that this

relation of master and slave involves vastly more of these domestic virtues, than can be found in the boasted relation of *master* and *help*, and master and apprentice, as they usually exist at the North. We have all these relations at the South—and every one knows that next to a man's wife and children, in point of affection, are his slaves; and that when this relation is modified, as Mr. Hague would say, by the piety of both the parties, it involves by far the strongest attachments that are known, excepting those of the relations just mentioned. There can no where be found a more striking perversion of truth, or one which betrays profounder ignorance of the facts of the case, than are to be seen in Mr. Hague's book, and other effusions of the sort, where the relation of master and slave is represented as implying nothing but tyranny and oppression on the one hand, and tears, and groans, and unwilling obedience on the other. And should it be said that there are some bad masters, and that slaves sometimes run away, as did Onesimus, it is to be recollected that the same may be said of parents and children, and of husbands and wives. Who does not know that there are few things more common at the North, than for husbands to desert their wives, and for parents to neglect and maltreat their children; and as for the "HELPS," who needs be told that, when well and able to work, they are *barely* paid for their services; and that when sick, they are usually turned away, and left to die, to starve, or to go to the poor-house, as the case may be? And still this is called freedom and charity—while slavery is stigmatized as tyranny and oppression!

CHAPTER VIII.

Here Mr. Hague abandons his scripture arguments, and devotes the remainder of his book to sundry remarks, which we should think but badly calculated to supply the lack of proof in the preceding pages. Having clearly conceded that the relation of slave and slaveholder was known to exist in sundry of the apostolic churches, and that this relation was frequently referred to by the apostles, if not in terms of commendation, at least in terms of implied approbation, it was hardly to be expected that slaveholders would be likely to be either convicted by his *suppositions*, or alarmed by his *threats*. Some of his statements, however, may be thought to claim a passing remark.

Respecting the writer's insinuation, that the Southern slaveholder is a virtual *manstealer*, we would make two remarks:—The first is, that the charge lacks the proof. The second is, that the argument by which it claims to derive support will unavoidably make the Northern landholder a land-pirate and a murderer. It is a matter of history that the lands of New England were acquired, by the first settlers, by fraud, by rapine, by bloodshed; in short, by enormities as revolting to human nature, as any thing that marked the annals of the African slave-trade. Mr. Hague ought to know, that, in his zeal to stigmatize and calumniate his brethren of the South, he at the same time, and by the same

means, stigmatizes and condemns those of his own community, and of his own church.

The writer's supposition with regard to Algiers lacks nearly every element necessary to make the cases analogous. Especially does it lack the facts, that, in the case of the American slave, he has no wish to return to his African ancestry; and, if he had, his condition would be made ten-fold worse than it is at present. The history of the American Colonization Society, which proposes to send the colored man, not to the degraded and brutish society from which his fathers were taken, but to the civilized and Christian colony of Liberia, sufficiently illustrates this point. The truth is, the American slave can have no motive to return to African heathenism; and he will never do it of his own accord, unless he do it solely on the principle of Christian benevolence, for the purpose of conveying thither the blessings of the gospel and of civilization. Such suppositions may serve the purpose of a writer who feels his want of argument, and who is willing to take advantage of popular feelings and prejudices to further his ends; but they will not be apt to avail much with those who are accustomed to govern their views by reason and facts. Still less will they do to counteract the force of apostolic precept and example.

If it be true, as stated by Dr. Fuller, and endorsed by Mr. Hague, that, "compared with slavery, all other topics which now shake and inflame men's minds, in these United States, are really trifling," we should be pleased to learn, why the same topic did not shake and inflame men's minds in the days of the apostles, and in

the churches over which they presided. One thing is certain, — either Christians in those times were very lax in moral principle, or certain parties now are very much given to ultraism and fanatical excitement. We leave Mr. Hague to adopt the alternative which suits him best.

In view of Mr. Hague's remarks touching the sins and threatened judgments of the church of Pergamos, we would beg leave to ask him the following question: — How happens it that slavery was not mentioned in the catalogue of her sins? The alleged offences were, that she had among her members those "that held the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication." To this Mr. Hague adds the sin of a general disposition to accommodate her religion to the prevailing sins of the times. How happens it, then, we would ask, that we find not a word in this bill of charges, brought by the infallible head of the church himself, against these delinquent disciples on the score of slavery? Will it be said that slavery was not known among them? If so, we demand the proof. It has been conceded that slavery existed in the churches at Ephesus and Colosse, and that it was an integral part of the social system of the times. The church at Pergamos was a church of Asia Minor, and situated but a small distance from those mentioned. If slavery was unknown among her members, this church must have formed an exception to the general rule; and if so, then it is due from those who affirm this, to adduce the proof. If it was not an exception, on the con-

trary, then this was a slaveholding church; and, such being the fact, it is incumbent on Mr. Hague to account for the circumstance, that, in this bill of allegations, the sin of slaveholding was wholly omitted.

And this leads to another question. It has been proved and admitted, as above stated, that the church at Ephesus was, *de facto*, a slaveholding church. To this church the apostle on Patmos was commanded to write, — “I know thy works, and thy labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil; and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars.” Now we desire to be told how all this could be addressed to a church in which there were confessedly both slaves and slaveholders, and that too, by the personification of truth itself, on the principle avowed by Mr. Hague, that slavery is a sin, and that slaveholders occupy common ground with pirates and man-stealers. That this question can admit of but one answer, and that that answer must be fatal to the position of Mr. Hague, is clear from the following from his own book: — “If the apostle John, who was inspired of old, to warn the declining churches of Asia, could descend from heaven with a special message to this (the Southern) portion of the American church, its burden and its tone would probably agree with those of this letter to Pergamos, saying, I know where thou dwellest, even in the midst of a system which Satan has devised to grind your brethren with hard bondage.” That is to say, in a message sent to the Southern portion of the American church, the burden of the

charge would be, that they tolerated the relation of slavery. To the church at Ephesus, where the existence of the same relation was notorious, an inspired message is actually sent, and the subject of slavery is not mentioned! This shows the consistency of those who have recently assumed the office of monitors and dictators to the church. That there were such men in the apostles' day is sufficiently evident from the New Testament. That there are such in the present age, may be safely inferred from the pages before us.

On the 53d page we read the following:—
“But, alas! to a great extent, her ministry and members,” that is the ministry and members of the Southern church, “have succumbed to the laws, the politics, the statesmanship, and the spirit of this world — have altered the testimony of Christ’s word, and have publicly declared that his religion sanctions a system of slavery.” Here it is charged that the Southern church, ministry and membership, have, to a great extent, succumbed to the spirit of this world — and, to carry out their nefarious purposes, have actually ALTERED the testimony of Christ’s word!! This charge has been made and published by Mr. Hague, a Baptist minister of Boston, and endorsed by what he calls the “Boston Conference of Ministers”!! It is undoubtedly a grave charge, and is either true or false. If it is true, it is capable of proof, and ought to have been proved before it was made. If it is not true, then it is false, and Mr. Hague and his endorsers are entitled to the unenviable notoriety of being the accusers and calumniators of their brethren.

That it is not true, is sufficiently clear, not only from the concessions of such men as Wayland, Barnes, Church, and others, but from nearly every page of Mr. Hague's book — which abundantly concedes every biblical position for which Southern men have contended !

CHAPTER IX.

We are now through with Mr. Hague's book. We have two or three remarks to add of a more general nature, and with them we shall close the present discussion.

Those who write against slavery generally commit a radical mistake at the outset. They *assume* that slaveholding involves sundry aggravated sins — such as injustice, oppression, inhumanity, and the like. They then maintain, justly enough of course, that all such sins are condemned by the general precepts of the gospel. And from these premises they draw the inference that slaveholding is grievously sinful.

Their argument, when put into syllogistic form, is the following : —

The general precepts of the gospel condemn all injustice, oppression, violence, &c. But slaveholding involves all these offences. Therefore slaveholding is condemned by the general precepts of the gospel. Now, if the second proposition were true, this would be sound reasoning. The conclusion would be undeniable. But unfortunately for the argument, the second proposition is not true. To say the least, it has not been

proved; neither has it been admitted by the opposite party. And this being the case, the whole argument is a sophism; and they who employ it are guilty of begging the question—that is, of assuming, and taking for granted, the only proposition really debateable in the case. Strange as it must appear, this is the manner of reasoning adopted by Mr. Hague, and, so far as we recollect, by every anti-slavery man who has written on the subject. From this it must be seen at once, that Mr. Hague's book affords a remarkable specimen of what logicians call *petitio principii*—a fabric built on the sand.

On the other hand, the advocates of slavery pursue a course essentially different from this. They *assume nothing*. They first of all turn to the New Testament, to see whether there be there—not moral precepts of a general nature—but *particular* precepts, having special or primary reference to the matter in hand. They there find the relation of slave and slaveholder as distinctly recognized as that of husband and wife, and parent and child—and in precisely the same way; and sundry *special precepts*, addressed directly and exclusively to the parties of this relation—just as they find precepts of a similar nature addressed to parents and children, and husbands and wives. They next inquire whether there is any intimation in these precepts that the said relation of master and slave is wrong, or that it ought not to be continued or allowed in the churches. Here they find that, while masters are directed to treat their slaves with justice, and kindness, and humanity, and the like, there is not a word said showing that the relation was sinful, or that it

was not fully as allowable as either of the other relations mentioned. From these facts they draw the conclusion, that, in the view of the apostles, the said relation must have been in perfect agreement with the *general* precepts of the gospel, and therefore not sinful; or its sinfulness would have been pointed out, and the relation itself promptly denounced.

When this reasoning comes to be put into due form, the argument will stand thus:—

1. The inspired teachers were bound to denounce all sinful relations known to exist in the primitive churches. 2. But they did not denounce the relation of master and slave. 3. Therefore the relation of master and slave either did not exist in the churches, or was not considered heinously sinful. 4. But the said relation did exist in the primitive churches. 5. Therefore it could not have been considered heinously sinful.

Now, the first of these propositions is clearly admitted by Mr. Hague, and we should think ought to be, by every one who has correct and honorable views of apostolic fidelity. The second has been admitted by Dr. Wayland, Dr. Church, Mr. Hague, and as we must think, by every one who has carefully read the New Testament. The third is a conclusion drawn from the preceding terms, and is clearly undeniable. The fourth proposition is admitted by Dr. Wayland, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Church, and as we have seen by Mr. Hague himself. The fifth and last is a conclusion drawn from the foregoing, and, so far as we can see, can be denied by no one who admits the first, second, and fourth. In other words, if

the first, second, and fourth propositions be true, the last must be so of course. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The foregoing treatise of Mr. Hague, and others of a kindred nature, confirm us in the opinion long entertained, that Northern men, to a great extent, are surprisingly, and we must think inexcusably, ignorant of what Southern slavery is. Instead of seeing it as it actually exists among us, and especially as it exists in our churches, they are prone to contemplate it through the medium of newspapers, books of law, the history of the slave-trade, and the numerous fictions of abolition lecturers and periodical defamers. Instead of seeing the slave as he really is—in the same church with his master—enjoying his religion probably more than most others; abounding in all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life; provided for in sickness, and protected in danger, far beyond any other class of servants or poor laborers; respected, confided in, and kindly treated by his master, to an extent greatly exceeding that of any class of hirelings; Northern people are apt to have their imaginations filled with images of horror, which have about as much foundation in fact, as it regards the ordinary condition of Southern slaves, as are the fictions of the Arabian Nights, or the legends of Remish superstition. And hence it is that Northern men are generally unqualified, not

only to reason the case with accuracy, but even to read a treatise on the subject with any thing like becoming candor or impartiality.

We ourselves were brought up at the North. We were brought up with strong prejudices against slavery. With those prejudices we came to the South. Many of those prejudices exist to this day. We have been a resident of the South for more than a quarter of a century. During the whole of this period, we have been more or less conversant with slaves and slavery. We have seen slaves in the church and out of it; we have seen them in town and in the country; we have seen them at sales, at public hirings, and in their private intercourse with their masters; we have seen them in their troubles and trials, as well as when in seasons of gayety and mirth; and we give it as our mature and deliberate conviction, that, of all the poor laboring classes on the face of the earth, our Southern slaves are best provided for. The laboring poor of Ireland, England, and Scotland, in point of domestic comfort, bear no comparison with them. The laboring poor of the Northern States, both black and white, are greatly their inferiors. The thousands of starving immigrants that are flocking to our shores would be grateful for half their advantages. If they were emancipated and sent to the free States this day, their condition would be impaired a hundred fold. Such are our views of the condition of Southern slaves; and if we are under the influence of any prejudice that could pervert our judgment, or any motive that could induce us to exaggerate, we yet remain to be apprised of the fact.

We would, therefore, respectfully request all

abolitionists, all anti-slavery writers, and all others disposed to denounce the South, and to commiserate the condition of our slaves, first of all, to inform themselves what Southern slavery is. They will then be more likely to read, write, and speak on the subject with some judgment and discretion. The visions of cruelty, oppression, and "suffering humanity," which have so long haunted their imaginations, will be dispelled. And when they come to reason the case, in view of the precepts of Christ and his apostles, they will be liable to do it with some prospect of discerning the truth.

We state the above with the sole object of correcting error, and with no purpose of apologizing for slavery, if slaveholding be a *sin*. If it be wrong, morally, religiously, or philosophically, for "man to hold property in man," we say, let the question be placed on its own merits, and let the alleged sinfulness be pointed out—not by stigmatizing the slaveholder as a pirate, a man-stealer, an oppressor, a wilful perverter of God's Word, and all such like; but by a calm, candid, and intelligible appeal to the facts and reason of the case. Southern men have ever been disposed to reason the case with coolness, courtesy, and impartiality. They are so disposed still. And if our Northern friends have any arguments on the subject, which have not been urged a hundred times, and as often refuted, we still say, let us have them.

Nor, in saying what we have, would we be understood as approving, much less as commending, all that is connected with the present system of slavery. We have sundry laws which are a disgrace

to our statute-book, and which ought long since to have been repealed. There are also some practices, by no means common or popular among our people however, which ought to be abolished. There are also occasional instances of injustice and oppression at the South as well as at the North, and everywhere, which ought to be rebuked and punished. These, however, form no part of the *essentials* of slavery. They are *abuses*, connected by law and otherwise with the system, which the system itself does not require, and for which the *principle* in question is not responsible. We are aware that some of these evils, perhaps most of them, have grown out of the hostile and injurious position recently assumed by our Northern neighbors, and that others are justified by reference to the same state of things. We greatly doubt, however, whether they are of any practical utility, or, if they were, whether they could be vindicated on principles of justice or of sound policy.

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